In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day. 465

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements. 262

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . . 272 276

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food." 465

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions. 562 [158 582] [20]

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca. 562 177 167

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks, 462

given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See p 92 CAT jury 1168 Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs

H 563 582 871 I 563 658 4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671 5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.* The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 186 I 641 6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.* None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2

The elected hereditary tribal Chiefs form the third type. In each tribal confederation there is a central tribe. Of this central tribe one family only provides Chiefs to the confederation. Normally the election of a Chief is the concern, not of his family only, but of the central tribe, while powerful petty Chiefs of other tribes within the confederation have a considerable say in it. Such Chiefs are, by virtue of the conditions of their election, truly democratic. By ancient tradition, however, they are held in great respect and are referred to invariably, as is their family, as the "Dola," or dynasty. They are accorded high-sounding titles by the Government and by other Chiefs, but their tribesmen address them by their names, and it would appear that the high-sounding titles are of recent adoption in the country. The Imam of San'a rarely uses them. Government correspondence is, for this reason, often a source of merriment.

It will be seen that all Chiefs are, whatever their type, elected in a greater or lesser degree—the Suzerains within their family circle and the hereditary Chiefs within their tribe. The main difference between the types is that, whereas the Suzerains are of foreign descent to the tribes over which they rule, the hereditary Chiefs are of the tribe and, as such, do not need to surround themselves with the trappings of imposed authority. In appearance the Suzerains are more imposing, and this has misled officials into supposing that they are of more consequence socially than other Chiefs are. This is, of course, not so.

In all these types of Chief, when the Chief dies his eldest son would appear, by custom, to have less right to succeed than others. Suzerains always try to impose their eldest or their favourite son as accepted heir during their lifetimes. This has happened in Lahej, where it led to a revolt among the Sultan's relations, and in Makalla by arrangement. The Sharifs of Beihan have been exceptions to this, and have abided by custom. When Sharif Ahmad died, they held discussions among themselves. The eldest son was Sharif Hussein, but he was appointed Regent to his own eldest son, a young boy, who was elected Sharif. The reason given for this was that the grandson of the dead Chief had longer to live than his father and that frequent change in leadership was a bad thing. As a rule, however, Chiefly families pass the Chiefdoms from branch to branch, and, when the Chief dies, a nephew will usually succeed. Among the 'Audhali recently, the Chief was murdered by his cousin. The tribe was split in two by feud, but one half elected the murderer's son, a boy of eight years old, to the Chiefdom. This boy was accepted in 1934, when the feud ceased, as Sultan of the tribe.

We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a headman. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2

tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

5 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2

A lady MEMBER asked for information with regard to weddings or customs relating to the women.

Major HAMILTON said that in the big towns the women married to rich or ultra-respectable people were in purdah. Over the whole of the Protectorate women normally walked about unveiled and free, but in some tribes in the Yemen they had most peculiar veils of all varieties. Women had a tremendously powerful influence on political affairs. They would have heard of Mrs. Ingrams, who went into the harem and talked to the women. She had enormously extended the influence of the political officer. He thought it was safe to say that the women in the harem could influence two-thirds of the people while the political officer could only influence one-third. He therefore thought it was a point for consideration whether more lady doctors, who could speak Arabic and who were young and prepared to travel, should not take up work in these places, where they could go into the harem and influence mothers and wives.

In reply to a question as to how any business was conducted in the democratic tribes, Major HAMILTON said that the Chief would go back to his village with a proposition, whereupon anybody who had any influence in the tribe would meet him. There would be a frightful noise, and eventually he would say, "This is what I have been told"; then several people would jump up and say, "This is where I die; I am not going to do this." There would be a very long parley which would sometimes end in bloodshed. Sometimes, when it was a question of the payment of a Government fine, the whole tribe would split up, and then there was no opportunity of getting them together again in order to obtain any sort of concerted action. Once he was out on a very hot day and came on about forty men walking backwards away from each other with rifles pointing at each other. He shouted a greeting in a loud jovial tone. They all stopped and kept one eye on him and one eye on each other. He said, "What is going on?" and they answered, "A peace conference." (*Laughter.*)

Dr. HUGH SCOTT said he thought that Major Hamilton had made an extremely important point when he indicated that none of these social conditions were static, and there was a danger in accepting as final the reports of anthropologists and travellers who were only there for a short time and could only give a record of things as they found them at that time.

He wished to bear witness to the value of the work which Major Hamilton had put on record. He had been privileged to see him at work among the tribes for a short time when he was up in the hills under Major Hamilton's protection and the protection of one of the Chiefs who had appeared on the screen. He was now having to compile all sorts of information about those and adjacent parts of Arabia, which meant extensive reading, and he had not read in any book an account which equalled in detail and exactitude Major Hamilton's description of the social organization of the tribes.

On the political side, when he was in the Aden Protectorate he had discussed with English friends, officers of the Aden Government, the question whether the policy of indirect administration would be sufficient

21; Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2

825 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

● 582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
832 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp